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This is to certify that I have made an examination of the accounts and vouchers of the American Peace Society from May 1, 1917, to April 30, 1918, and find them to be correct, showing a balance in the hands of the Treasurer of \$56.59.

C. LOUIS ECKLOFF,

MAY 21, 1918.

Auditor.

"WINNING-THE-WAR-FOR-PEACE" IN PHILADELPHIA

Selections From a Few of the Addresses Delivered at the "Win the War For Permanent Peace" Convention, Under the Auspices of the League to Enforce Peace, Philadelphia, May 16, 1918.

"WAR! WAR! WAR!"

From the opening address of the Chairman,
Hon. William H. Taft

LET'S have it known to the world, let's have it heralded in London and in Paris to hearten our allies, let's have it sounded in Berlin, that all the energy of this country, all its potential power, is to be converted into force. We are hurrying troops now to stay the Germans on the western front, but let it be known that this is only to help hold the line until a greater American army, insuring victory, can be put there. It will take fully two years—perhaps three—to fulfill proper plans of preparation. We should face the facts. We should realize what is before us. We should discard unjustified optimism. We should set our faces stern and unbending for but one purpose—"War, War, War!"

Words like these may sound strange in a gathering whose purpose is peace; but those who would say so, do not see the fact. Our Society was organized to make this war an instrument for the promotion of peace. It holds that the horrors of the war and the awful misery it involves must make the nations bind themselves to a common obligation for the future to suppress war. We call for a primitive political organization of the world, affording judicial and mediating agencies, and an international police to stamp out the beginnings of every riot of world violence. A member of the family of nations which looks upon war as a normal means of acquiring power and a justifiable condition of growth, destroys hope for the future. Such member must be whipped into a different view and into conformity with the public opinion of the world. Nothing but force can cure the brutality and ruthlessness of force. In such a case the maxim, *Similia similibus curantur* has full application. The peaceful countries of the world are obliged to change themselves into the habits, the sacrifices and the panoply of war. . . . We of this League, who are the most peace-loving people of this most peace-loving nation, now that the independence and liberty of the world are at stake, and its permanent peace is attacked by brute force, have drawn the sword and have thrown the scabbard away.

THE PRICE OF MILITARISM AND ITS DOOM

From the Words of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

IT is generally conceded that the moral status of a people depends upon the ethical codes of the communities in which they dwell and the attitude of those

communities toward life. Hence, the moral condition of a nation can be but the result of the morality prevailing among the individuals who compose it, and the method of the expressions of this morality is a matter of environment. Since moral codes are not inherited through organic but rather through social heredity to which all the people composing the group consciously or not consciously contribute, it is therefore impossible to discuss, much less to measure, the morally degrading influences of militarism and all that militarism stands for upon the character of women and children without including in the indictment its degenerating effects upon men. Nor is it possible to listen to the authenticated recitals of the indecencies and atrocities perpetrated upon the women and children of the territories overrun by the armies dominated by Prussian military legions, without realizing that these unthinkable offenses and crimes against all the ideals of decency and humanity did not have their rise in a moment of war-maddening fury but that they are the results of the degrading ideals which underlie and give birth to the spirit of militarism wherever it controls the life of a people. The enthronement of might, of arrogance, of physical force, creates within the human spirit a disregard for justice, for human sympathy and for personal obligations on the one hand, and on the other it breeds a spirit of cowardice, of servile submission and of sudden degrading acquiescence in injustice and wrong. It is unnecessary to repeat the shocking details of the atrocities inflicted upon women and children of Belgium, Flanders, Poland, Armenia, to realize the debasing effect of militarism from men in times of hatred and war. But we must admit that such violation of right, such cruel barbarism could be possible only as the result of moral delinquencies in times of peace. . . .

The whole trend of the educational system of Germany in recent years has been to develop in all the people a spirit of vainglory in their prowess and their *kultur*, and a corresponding spirit of arrogance toward the people of other countries. In no other nation could the Hymn of Hate be taught and sung in the schools save in that country whose very name has become a word of shame and disgust to civilization. . . . We must save our children from the debasing spirit of militarism, if American men and women are ever again to hope for the things they have cherished, and from which their ancestors sought to escape when they defied the tyranny of the domination of might and gave to the world the democratic ideals of justice and equality in the immortal Declaration of Independence to which our flag and our country are dedicated. . . .

It is not enough that Germany shall be defeated in battle or conquered by hunger; she must be shown the truth, that the world will no longer permit any people to hold overrated power which threatens its peace or paralyzes the processes of civilization. . . . The only hope lies in such a conquest over the spirit of Germany that it may learn the truth, that it may understand that today, as in time past, the only foundation for permanent security and stability for any peo-

ple, Germany included, is in righteousness; that above the roar of battle, the shrieking of shells, the groans of the dying and the cries of little children, the prophets of old are calling in tones that the whole world and Germany must heed "What does it profit a man? What does the law require of him but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with God?" . . .

If we contend merely to conquer the armies of the Central Powers, we may be acclaimed victors, our soldiers may return to us triumphantly, but we ourselves will know that we have failed to secure the object for which we are fighting.

The free people of the world did not enter into this war for conquest over any nation, but for the establishment of the principle of justice upon such a basis that never again shall any nation be able to destroy the peace of the world; that never again shall the womanhood and the childhood of a people be slaughtered as sheep going to the slaughter. . . . It is, therefore, as important that Germany shall be changed in her ideals as to be defeated in her battles. She must be taught that there is a conscience in men, a conscience to which they must be responsible above that of industrial commercial or military necessity. Germany must be taught that the written word of a nation is as binding as that of an individual, that there is a power of the soul above and mightier than the power of the sword, that if she seeks a place in the League of Nations she must enter in by some other pathway and through some other gate than that made by her armies.

The terms of international peace may be adjusted in the halls of diplomacy, the terms may be adjusted there, but whatever the language used to express these terms, they must include the spirit of human brotherhood which is growing in the minds and souls of men as a real and mighty power, that justice, fair play and a sense of responsibility are vital, energetic forces and must be reckoned in all the future relations of men and nations.

Upon such a basis, secured in a League of Peace, or rather a League of Nations, which league shall guarantee their protection, we may establish a system of national and international education which shall supersede the ideals of Prussian-militarism, and in their place implant those ideals of justice and humanity toward which democratic nations have been tending.

A LEAGUE TO OVERCOME INTERNATIONAL BRIGANDAGE

A portion of the Rev. Lyman Abbott's address

WE speak of the war in Europe. Properly speaking there is no war in Europe. Twenty civilized nations have united in a league to put down a highly organized brigandage attempted against the world by three semi-barbarous nations.

The classical definition of war is that which was furnished by Charles Sumner in his ever memorable speech on "The True Grandeur of Nations," delivered in Boston in 1845. "War," he said, "is a public armed contest between nations, under the sanction of international law, to establish justice between them." In the present so-called war there is no question of justice

between Germany and the civilized world. Simultaneously with the declaration of war Germany's prime minister publicly declared to the German Parliament that the German government was about to do an act of injustice in the invasion of Belgium, and the Parliament accepted this declaration and has given its support to that act of injustice and to all the injustice that has followed since. In 1913, the year before the war, one of the representatives of the German military power declared one of the objects of Germany in the next war would be to crush France so that she can never cross our path again. With what awful brutality she has carried out this purpose, the ruined cathedrals, devastated fields and murdered citizens of France attest. As there is no question of justice between the German and the civilized world in this so-called war so it has not been conducted by Germany under the sanction of international law. Her motto has been necessity knows no law. She has disregarded international law, set at naught ruthlessly the laws of war, disregarded without hesitation the laws of humanity, and broken without scruple those fundamental laws of morality which all civilized nations recognize as divinely sanctioned by the voice of God spoken in the consciences of his children.

Brigandage is defined by the Century dictionary as "highway robbery by organized gangs." Highway robbery has never been carried on upon so big a scale and by so intelligent and efficient a band of brigands as today by the Predatory Potsdam Gang.

While some of us have been considering the wisdom of a league of nations to enforce peace, twenty civilized nations have united in an armed league to enforce justice. Not until we have enforced justice and re-established civilization can we give more than an academic consideration to the conditions of an enduring peace. The three mottoes of General Grant must be our mottoes and in their historical order.

"Unconditional surrender."

"I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

Then and not 'til then are we free to add the aspiration:

"Let us have peace."

PEACE ON PRINCIPLE ONLY

From the address of President A. Lawrence Lowell
of Harvard University

Two principles are arrayed against each other in battle today. One is that might makes right, that the fruits of the earth belong to the people who can take them, that there is no moral obligation superior to the welfare of the State, and that the nation strongest in arms is justified in using that strength relentlessly to push aside and trample under foot any people which stands in its path of expansion. The other is that all nations, great and small, are entitled to respect, that all people have a right to justice and that every being capable of suffering has a claim on the sympathy of man. The struggle is between autocratic, pitiless use of military strength on one side, and liberty, justice and humanity on the other.

We are not fighting for terms, or territorial boundaries between rival powers. If we were they could perhaps be settled without more bloodshed. There is, in fact, a very grave danger from a misunderstanding on this point.

It is not at all improbable that within a few weeks Germany may propose to make peace on terms that appear on their face reasonable and moderate. She may offer to retire from Belgium and France and even to contribute toward the damage suffered, to cede Alsace and Lorraine or leave their future to be decided by plebiscite, to give the Trentino and Trieste to Italy, to relinquish all claim to the captured colonies, to promise some kind of autonomy to the various races in Central and Eastern Europe, and to agree that the sinking of merchant ships by submarines, the dropping of bombs by aeroplanes, the use of poisonous gas, and the other barbarities she has practised, shall not again be permitted in war. Such an offer would be highly seductive, and, if we are not prepared to understand what it means, might well beguile the Allies into a delusive peace. The peace would be delusive for, unless the principle of militarism is destroyed, the promises would be kept no better than those broken in the past. Autonomy of other races would mean their organization for the strengthening of Germany; until she had control of the resources of a population of two hundred millions for her next war; and the abandonment of her former colonies would be made only with the hope of recoupment in South America on a more favorable occasion.

Such a settlement would be a mere truce pending a strife more fierce hereafter. So long as the principle is not overthrown, that he may take who has the power and he may keep who can; so long as predatory militarism is not wholly destroyed, as slavery was destroyed by our Civil War—a result which no one, either North or South, now laments; so long as these results are not attained no lasting peace can be made.

If the upshot of this war is inconclusive the whole world will be preparing for another.

LABOR'S MESSAGE

The words in part of Mr. Hugh Frayne of New York

LABOR is at work in the workshops, and in the mines, to produce the minerals that make the powerful guns and the shells and the ammunition necessary for our men to fight. There are the men in the local mines who produce the coal so necessary to make the steam that operates the plants and the engines on the railroad that transports not only the soldiers but the supplies necessary to feed and equip them, as well as to furnish the civil population of our country. Naturally, labor is interested in this work. They are contributing more each day. You have read of the shortcomings of a few, and when the truth was learned, it was found that men who had not yet been efficiently trained expected to do a much higher task than they had been equipped to do. But have you not read within the last few days where men in the shipyards and other places are doing tasks so great that it was absolutely unheard of in pre-war times? And these men, realizing that we

must have soldiers first, many of them are contributing their sons, some three, four and five, for that cause. The fathers and the brothers of the workmen in large numbers have gone to the army to serve in this cause. They have contributed out of their small earnings to every cause and purpose that had for its purpose the victory which all Americans are so anxious to see.

Labor, in every phase of life, is going to do its duty, but labor is not going to be exploited. The man who takes advantage of labor in this crisis, the man who fails to recognize that justice belongs to labor, not only now, but at all times, does not come up to the hundred per cent citizen that we all expect and hope and want to see. Hence he has failed in his duty in that respect.

JAMES BROWN SCOTT*

A Sketch of His Services to the Cause of Justice Between Nations

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

SPEAKING before the Constitutional Convention of 1787, in the session of August 13, Mr. John Dickinson, "Penman of the Revolution," highly cultivated Governor of Delaware and later also of Pennsylvania, expressed in two sentences what appears to be the bases of the significant labors of James Brown Scott. Mr. Dickinson said: "Experience must be our only guide. Reason may mislead us." Many live and strive for better things in terms of reason, and that with varying degrees of advantage to the social purpose. Mr. Scott brings to internationally minded men an infinite array of international experiences, and shows to the doubting Thomases among States not so much what unaided reason would suggest that they do as what has already been accomplished by them. Such a service is a service indeed, because States rarely act upon reason, whether that reason be "right reason," "pure reason" or just plain reason. States decide and do things primarily upon precedent. In 1888 the brilliant young editor, explorer and diplomat, Allen Thorndike Rice, wrote in the columns of his *North American Review*, shortly before his untimely death, these words: "If we may define statesmanship it seems to be experience, codified, made tangible and applied to the exigencies of national life. It deals, not with theories, nor with nebulous, poetic imaginings and aspirations, but with concrete social facts and forces. Its trail is not an acrobat's invisible wire, but a firm rock-hewn path, lighted by the unflickering lamp of history. . . . And it is exactly in proportion as they deal with facts and not theories—as they consult the market instead of the oracle—that national leaders leave their impress on their generation, and that civilization is established and extended from zone to zone—from protoplasm to America." It is characteristic of Mr. Scott that all of his writings are concerned with the experience of

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